

Message Text

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TO ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS

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SUBJECT: OASGA- PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS: RESTRUCTURING THE
INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM; MAY 10, 12, 13.

SDEL D-9

1. FOLLOWING IS SUMMARY OF THREE DAYS OF DISCUSSIONS BY
FOREIGN MINISTERS ON VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF RESTRUCTURING
THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM.

2. DISCUSSION BEGAN WITH PRESENTATION BY AMBASSADOR GARCIA
BEDOYA, WHO HAD BEEN CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO
STUDY THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM AND TO PROPOSE MEASURES
FOR RESTRUCTURING IT (CEESI). HE DESCRIBED THE RESULTS OF
THE TWO YEARS OF THE COMMITTEE'S WORK: DRIFT DURING THE
FIRST YEAR, CORRECTED BY FOREIGN MINISTERS AT ATLANTA IN
1974 WHEN THEY DIRECTED THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO CONCEN-
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TRATE ON FIVE AREAS:1)PURPOSES, PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES
OF THE SYSTEM; 2) RIO TREATY; 3) COLLECTIVE ECONOMIC SECU-
RITY; 4) COOPERATION FOR INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT; AND 5)
PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

3. BEDOYA SAID THAT THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE HAD PRODUCED A REDEFINITION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM, AND NOTED THAT

MODIFICATION OF CHARTER ARTICLE ONE DECLARES THAT THE SYSTEM IS INSTITUTIONALIZED ON THE TWIN BASES OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT. HE DEFINED THE LATTER AS COVERING THE PROGRESSIVE AND COHERENT ADVANCE OF ALL SECTORS, REFLECTING THE CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT, TO THE BENEFIT OF ALL SOCIAL CLASSES. HE DESCRIBED NEW PRINCIPLES WHICH HAD BEEN DEVELOPED REGARDING CULTURAL LIFE, EDUCATION, ENVIRONMENT, SOVEREIGNTY OVER NATURAL RESOURCES AND THE FREEDOM TO CONTROL THEIR EXPLORATION, INCLUDING THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE SEAS.

4. ON REVISION OF THE RIO TREATY, HE SAID THAT OPPOSING VIEWPOINTS HAD BEEN LARGELY RECONCILED, AND POINTED TO "WHAT I CONSIDER ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT -- THE PRINCIPLE OF THE PLURALITY OF POLITICAL REGIMES, WHOSE INCLUSION IN THE RIO TREATY WILL BE AN INNOVATION". HE LISTED OTHER MODIFICATIONS TO THE RIO TREATY, SUCH AS A NEW DEFINITION OF AGGRESSION, A REDEFINITION OF THE TERRITORY COVERED, A NEW SYSTEM OF VOTING ("THE SERIOUSNESS OF THIS QUESTION MERITED A THOROUGH CONSIDERATION. THIS WAS VERY IMPORTANT, AND RESULTED IN INCORPORATING CHANGES MINDFUL OF CURRENT POLITICAL CONCERNS").

5. STILL PENDING, HE REPORTED, WERE CONSIDERATION OF THE PACT OF BOGOTA (ON THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES), AND THE TWO ECONOMIC THEMES. HE STATED THAT A CONVENTION WAS NEEDED TO GIVE JURIDICAL EFFECT TO ARTICLES 19, 34 AND 35 OF THE CHARTER. HE QUOTED POPE PAUL THAT PROGRESS AND INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT ARE RELATED TO PEACE, AND ARGUED THAT ECONOMIC SECURITY SHOULD BE GUARANTEED JUST AS MILITARY SECURITY IS. HE INSISTED THAT THE PERMANENT COUNCIL SHOULD HAVE THE POWER TO CONSIDER ALLEGATIONS OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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ECONOMIC AGGRESSION, TO ASSESS COMPENSATION, AND REFERRED TO SIMILAR DISCUSSIONS IN OTHER WORLD FORUMS LEADING TO A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER. HE CONCLUDED BY PREDICTING THAT WE ARE MOVING TOWARD A NEW "COMMITMENT FOR AMERICA" IN THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM WHICH MAKES SECURITY A COMMON INTEREST, AND WHICH SUPPORTS THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF OUR PEOPLES WITH A SYSTEM OF GUARANTEES, AS WE MOVE FROM DEPENDENCY TO INTERDEPENDENCE".

6. URUGUAY URGED THAT WE NOW MOVE AHEAD ON THE BASIS OF THE CEESI WORK, AND SUGGESTED A TIMETABLE FOR CONSIDERATION OF THE VARIOUS TOPICS; PERHAPS THE RIO TREATY REVI-

SION BY THE END OF AUGUST, AND OTHER MATTERS BY THE END OF THE YEAR. HE SUGGESTED THAT THERE BE AN "ECONOMIC STATUTE FOR THE AMERICAS" TO PARALLEL THE RIO TREATY, BUT ARGUED THAT 1) IN CONSIDERING THE VARIOUS SUGGESTIONS

REGARDING ECONOMIC ISSUES FLEXIBLE PROCEDURES BE WORKED OUT, AND 2) THAT THERE BE SOME MECHANISM FOR PERMANENT REVIEW AND EVALUATION TO AVOID EXCESSIVE RIGIDITY IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SYSTEM. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE MECHANISM MEET OUTSIDE WASHINGTON, WITH REPRESENTATION OTHER THAN THE PERMANENT DELEGATIONS SO THAT IT COULD ACT AS A SAFETY VALVE TO RELIEVE PRESSURE. HE CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT URUGUAY WANTS TO END THE PROCESS OF MEETING APART FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY; AND THAT WE SHOULD STOP TALKING ABOUT THE MECHANICS OF THE SYSTEM, AND START TALKING ABOUT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT ITSELF.

7. COSTA RICA CONCLUDED THAT THE NEED FOR AN OAS HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED, BUT THAT ALL SHOULD REALIZE THAT THE INTERESTS OF A SUPER POWER LIKE THE US CANNOT ALWAYS BE THE SAME AS THE INTERESTS OF SMALL COUNTRIES. HE ARGUED THAT, NEVERTHELESS, THE BEST GUARANTEE FOR PEACE IS THE DEVELOPMENT OF LATIN AMERICA, AND THAT THE SYSTEM CANNOT FUNCTION WITHOUT US UNDERSTANDING OF THIS. COOPERATION, HE SAID, IS THE ONLY TRUE SOURCE OF SOLIDARITY, BUT WE MUST RESPECT THE ROAD EACH COUNTRY TAKES FOR ITSELF. HE AGREED WITH URUGUAY ON THE IMPORTANCE OF MOVING AHEAD WITH A CONFERENCE ON THE RIO TREATY WHICH WOULD CONSIDER THE FORMULA FOR REMOVING SANCTIONS, WHICH RECEIVED 18 LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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VOTES IN CEESI, AND HE OFFERED TO HOST THE CONFERENCE IN SAN JOSE. (LATER, URUGUAY, SUPPORTED BY PERU, URGED THAT ALL THE TOPICS UNDER THE RESTRUCTURING THEME BE INCLUDED IN A RESOLUTION SUGGESTING A TIMETABLE, NOT JUST THE RIO TREATY REVISION.)

8. ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS TOLD THE MINISTERS THAT HE AND SECRETARY KISSINGER AGREED THAT THERE WAS NO MORE IMPORTANT MATTER BEFORE THEM THAN THE ISSUE OF THE REFORM OF THE SYSTEM. HE AGREED WITH FOREIGN MINISTER FACIO (COSTA RICA) THAT THE NATIONAL INTEREST OF THE US IS BEST GUARANTEED BY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE HEMISPHERE. HE POINTED TO THE ADVANCE MADE BY SUBSTITUTING THE PRIVATE MEETINGS FOR THE MORE FORMAL STATEMENTS. HE CHARACTERIZED THE 1967 REFORMS AS WRONG IN THAT THEY REFLECTED A PASSING ERA, AND WERE TOO RIGID; AND URGED SOLUTIONS BE FOUND TO THE NEW ECONOMIC ISSUES WHICH CONFRONT US, AND SUGGESTED THAT RIO TREATY AND OAS COUNCIL STRUCTURE COULD BE IMPROVED THROUGH MODIFICATION IN EXISTING MACHINERY.

9. MR. ROGERS ALSO MADE THE FOLLOWING (PARAPHRASED) POINTS:

-- RIO TREATY - MR. ROGERS DECLARED US SUPPORT FOR

SEVERAL CEESI PROPOSALS, INCLUDING MAKING IT POSSIBLE FOR A MAJORITY TO LIFT SANCTIONS. THE US SUPPORTS THE PROPOSAL TO MEET IN SAN JOSE TO SIGN A PROTOCOL OF AMENDMENT.

-- COLLECTIVE ECONOMIC SECURITY - US OPPOSES THE DRAFT CONVENTION, NOT ONLY BECAUSE WE DISAGREE WITH THE JURIDICAL APPROACH, BUT BECAUSE WE DON'T BELIEVE CONGRESS WOULD ACCEPT SUCH A CONVENTION. A REALISTIC APPROACH TO DEALING WITH THE ISSUES OF THE GONZALEZ AND HICKENLOOPER AMENDMENTS INVOLVES DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS WHICH GENERATED THEM. THE US PREFERS TO FOCUS ON THE DEVELOPMENT NEEDS OF THE HEMISPHERE, AND THUS IN FINDING A MECHANISM WHICH WOULD PROVIDE FOR COLLECTIVE ACTION TO ASSIST COUNTRIES WHOSE DEVELOPMENT IS AFFECTED BY ONE OR MORE OF SEVERAL FACTORS. THIS APPROACH AVOIDS THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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STERILE DEBATE OVER DEFINING "COERCION" AND "ECONOMIC AGGRESSION".

-- COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT - WE DO NOT BELIEVE WE HAVE REACHED A DEGREE OF CONSENSUS SUFFICIENT FOR US TO BE ABLE TO DRAFT A CONVENTION.

-- CHARTER - THERE IS STILL MUCH DISAGREEMENT ABOUT CHARTER REFORM. WE SUGGEST THEREFORE, THAT THE PERMANENT COUNCIL CONTINUE CONSIDERATION OF THE FIRST TWO CHAPTERS.

-- STRUCTURE - SINCE THE MAIN FUNCTION OF THE OAS HAS NOW SHIFTED TO PROMOTING INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT, WE BELIEVE THAT THE OAS WOULD BE BETTER ABLE TO CARRY OUT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN THIS AREA IF THE TWO TECHNICAL COUNCILS WERE REFORMED INTO ONE "DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL". INITIAL STEPS, NOT REQUIRING CHARTER REVISION, SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN NOW. "THE US WOULD BE WILLING TO RELINQUISH THE HONOR OF SERVING AS HEADQUARTERS IF THIS BE THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY."

10. BRAZIL, ECUADOR, CHILE, VENEZUELA, NICARAGUA, PERU, BOLIVIA, PARAGUAY COMMENTED ON THE REFORM TOPIC. ALL SPOKE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE OAS (SOME REFERRED TO ITS DIMINISHED REPUTATION), AND OF THE NEED TO REFORM IT; THE NECESSITY OF COOPERATING WITH THE US IN THE OAS CONTEXT, RECOGNIZING THAT INTERESTS DO NOT ALWAYS COINCIDE; THE NEED FOR FLEXIBILITY AND REALISM IN THE RESTRUCTURING;

AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE POLITICAL WILL OF THE MEMBER
GOVERNMENTS IN MAKING THE ORGANIZATION SUCCESSFUL.

11. SUBSEQUENTLY, URUGUAY PRESENTED A RESOLUTION PRO-
POSING A TIMETABLE FOR DEALING WITH THE VARIOUS ASPECTS
OF RESTRUCTURING. AFTER SOME DISCUSSION, IT WAS FORWARDED

TO THE GENERAL COMMITTEE, WHICH CONSIDERED AND APPROVED
THE RESOLUTION ON FRIDAY, MAY 16. (SEE STATE 115093
FOR DETAILS.) -

12. THIS CONCLUDES FIFTH OASGA USDEL SERIES. INGERSOLL

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